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MONTHLY  
POLITICAL  
REPORT

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Office of Current Intelligence  
5 July 1966

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Political Developments in Communist China,  
May and June 1966\*

In view of the importance of the political turmoil in the Chinese leadership, this report does not follow the usual format, but concentrates on analysis of information relating to the leadership. In large part the discussion is an extension of analysis developed in the DDI Memorandum "The Leadership Upheaval in Communist China," 17 June 1966.

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
Summary	2
I. The Extent of the Shakeup	3
II. Evidence that an Official Is in Trouble	4
III. Shakeup in the Party Machinery	6
IV. Possible Shakeup of the Military	8
Annex A	9
Annex B	17
Annex C	23
Annex D	29

\*Prepared by OCI/FEA/China Division

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This report focuses on the turbulence which has been evident in the Chinese leadership in the past few months. If Peking is to be believed, all it has done is to purge a handful of traitorous intellectuals and party renegades who want to restore capitalism. Signs are mounting, however, that the targets have included key men in the party machinery, and that this machinery has undergone its most massive shakeup in the history of the regime. This shakeup has reached into Mao's inner circle of advisers itself, and there are signs that it has led to the removal of a host of officials in the party machinery, military and security apparatus. Almost to a man, those who are believed to be in trouble are hardliners with records of unswerving loyalty to Mao and the party.

The number and character of the men whose status is in question are a further indication that the recent turmoil, to a large extent, is the external sign of a struggle by top party leaders to be in a position to take over once the aging Mao finally departs.

On 1 July the Peking Peoples Daily, in an editorial commemorating the 45th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, claimed that the struggle was over. The editorial described recent events as an attempt by "counterrevolutionary" plotters to seize the leadership of the party, army and the government. It asserted that the plot had been thoroughly crushed, and the scene is quiet again. This could prove to be the case, but it is also possible that the struggle is merely entering a new phase.

If stability has been restored, it may well prove transitory. Considering all that has happened, especially Mao's apparent inability to exercise sustained control, it is doubtful that the situation will fully stabilize until Mao finally departs and a successor consolidates his position. In any case, the ultimate outcome remains murky, and it is too early to speculate on what policies the ultimate victor will follow.

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## I. The Extent of the Shakeup

The status of 42 party and military leaders, out of a power structure of slightly more than 100, is in question. (See Annex A) Evidence is accumulating that many are in deep trouble, not just inexplicably out of public view.

The list is larger than the one published in the 17 June DDI Memorandum "The Leadership Upheaval in Communist China." However, it continues to consist almost entirely of hardline men who hold key positions in the party's instruments of control -- the party machinery, the army, and the security apparatus. The regime claims that it is after "bourgeois revisionists" who want to restore capitalism and who cannot be trusted to carry on Mao's policies. If so, the wrong men are under attack. Not one of the relative "softies" on the politburo, government administrators and economic planners like Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien, Li Fu-chun and Po I-po, seems to have been touched by the struggle.

Few of the leaders now in trouble have had close associations in their careers with the party general secretary Teng Hsiao-ping, who seems to have gained ground in the past tumultuous months. Teng men, such as Minister of Public Security Hsieh Fu-chih, generally have survived. Many who are on the list owed their rise solely to Mao Tse-tung and some enjoyed the reputation of being his personal spokesmen. Their removal could weaken his ability to manipulate the levers of power and leave in doubt that he has been running the show, as the regime claims.

Little is known about new appointments, but that little also suggests that Teng is strengthening his position. The replacement named for Deng Chen in early June as first secretary of Peking was Li Hsueh-feng, believed to be a protege of Teng. The only key appointment announced since then was a new deputy director of the general political department (the party's control apparatus in the army). This man served under Teng Hsiao-ping in the Southwest Area in the early 1950s.

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## II. Evidence that an Official Is in Trouble

Of the 42 party leaders now considered to be in a questionable status, only four have been clearly identified in the Chinese press. These are Peng Chen, his deputy Liu Jen, party cultural spokesman Chou Yang, and the Heilungkiang provincial party secretary Ouyang Chin. Evidence that the remainder are on thin ice rests mainly on a record of public non-appearances and on press criticism of their domain. This type of evidence is a good though not infallible indicator of a man's standing in normal times. It is a still better one when the political scene is unsettled as in recent months. At such times it is important for a leader to do what he can to establish that he is in good standing. Appearances not only enhance a leader's stature, they remind subordinates that he still exercises authority.

Several chronic absentees have pointedly shown up at least once since April, as if to demonstrate they are in good standing. In addition, many of those who are out of sight were very active up through March, so their hiatus of appearances represents an abrupt change of habit.

In late June the Peking press began adding appreciably to the pressure that a leader show up to prove his standing. It began to demand that responsible officials, including explicitly all provincial first secretaries, "personally" take charge of the current ideological purification drive in their own domain.

Such demands could foreshadow charges of malfeasance against officials who can be represented as not complying. This was the technique used to bring down Peng Chen. Before Peng's formal removal from his post as first secretary of Peking city, several writers and lesser officials in the Peking city party and government apparatus were attacked for their "antiparty" writings and activities. The Peking city organizations were not represented as acting against the "antiparty" criminals. This would seem to establish the general proposition that, when political shortcomings are publicized in a leader's domain, and he is not represented as engaging in the necessary cleanup action, he is in trouble.

At the moment, at least eight provincial leaders and two department heads in the central committee have been implicated by this type of indirect attack. (See Annex B). There has also been political criticism of the air force and of military units near Peking which might implicate

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the air force chief and the commander of the Peking Military Region. Both have been out of sight for months. At a minimum, such men would seem to be under a cloud, but Peoples Daily on 24 June indicated that their fate was not necessarily finally settled. It urged leading officials under attack not to lose heart if they are really loyal to the party but to work to try to clear themselves. This may not be very reassuring to those under attack, since Peoples Daily had been unsuccessful in its apparent efforts earlier this year to defend Peng Chen.

One man whose status was in question in May showed up in June under circumstances suggesting that he had been under attack but had managed to clear himself. This was the first secretary of the Shantung party committee, who was out of public view between 29 March and 11 June. During May "antiparty" activities were exposed in Shantung but were not reported to have been cleaned out. Shortly after the secretary's reappearance in June a new pocket of subversive activity was uncovered and cleaned out by the party committee.

Doubtless some of the 42 men whose status is in question have not been in trouble at all, but are out of sight for some other reason. It is believed that there are relatively few in this category, however. The majority of the men on the list are under suspicion on other grounds than merely failure to show up recently. In addition to the four who have been publicly identified, ten have had their domain criticized, six have been out of view suspiciously long (six months or more), and two were very active and eight were fairly active before dropping out of sight.

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## Possible Shake-Up of Key Party and Military Groupings in Communist China

This chart considers the status of only those men who appeared to form the active power structure in March 1966, just before the fall of politburo member Peng Chen. Some, who hold multiple posts, are counted in more than one grouping.

PARTY	Members Still In Good Standing	Members Who May Be in Trouble
Politburo	86%	14%
Secretariat	64%	36%
Heads of Central Committee Dept- Level Organs	50%	50%
Regional Bureau Chiefs	100%	
Provincial First Secretaries	54%	46%
MILITARY		
Military Affairs Committee of the Central Committee	57%	43%
Chief and Deputy Chiefs of Staff	45%	55%
Minister and Vice Ministers of National Defense	29%	71%
Heads of Major Services	50%	50%



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### III. Shakeup in the Party Machinery (See Annex C)

#### Politburo

The disarray in the party machinery is not immediately evident from the status of the politburo alone. As of the end of June, only one politburo member has been publicly displaced but he was sixth in the hierarchy and a member of Mao's inner circle of advisers. One alternate member appears on the basis of his long absence and attacks on his areas of responsibility also to have fallen victim to behind-the-scenes maneuvering.

This should not be misconstrued. Six politburo members and three alternates were already out of favor, inactive because of illness, or relatively unimportant politically before the present party crisis. Five members and one alternate have been engaged more in government administration than in party work per se for most of the last decade. This leaves only six members and two alternates whose primary responsibilities had been in the central control of the party.

#### Secretariat

The day-to-day direction of party affairs, as distinct from policy formulation and the issuance of general directives, is entrusted to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. As General Secretary of the CCP and senior member of the Secretariat, Teng Hsiao-ping derives much of his strategic power from the Secretariat, and his ten colleagues (full and alternate members) have all been among the most influential in the party. Now, four of these are purged (Peng Chen) or under a cloud of suspicion (Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ching, and Yang Shang-kun). Remaining active with Teng are the party specialists in agricultural policy, financial and economic policy, theoretical work, and regional administration. The men who are apparently out handled propaganda, police, the armed forces, and general administration.

#### Central Committee Departments

The Secretariat exercises its authority through a series of about ten Central Committee Departments. Of the eight publicly designated heads of these departments, half are out of sight--those who oversee propaganda, organization (i.e., party personnel policy), political work in finance and trade, and the Young Communist League. The Propaganda Department has been singled out for attack in the press, and one of its deputy directors, Chou Yang, has

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just been revealed in this propaganda as a leader in the insinuation of the anti-party "black thread" into China's culture and art (a charge that is grotesque in light of Chou's policy speeches of the last decade.)

#### Regional Bureaus and Provinces

All five of the party's regional bureau heads have appeared since the fall of Peng Chen and appear to be in good standing, although their record of appearances is much scantier than in 1965.

In the sixth bureau, East China, no successor has yet been named for Ko Ching-shih, who died in April 1965. The apparent inability of party leaders to agree on a successor in 1965 might have been one of the factors which spurred the later dissension.

Although regional chiefs all remain in good standing, many other key officials in the regional bureaus and in the provincial party committees are fairly obviously in trouble. In the North, East, and Northeast regions, large percentages of top party leaders have gone unreported since April. The Northwest, Southwest, and Central-South regions so far have been relatively untouched.

Some elements in this pattern of regional variations can be explained as part of a drive to remove associates of Peng Chen. Both East and North China probably included strongholds of support for Peng Chen. Although the nominal head of the North China bureau, Li Hsueh-feng, is believed to be a Teng Hsiao-ping man, Peng undoubtedly exercised considerable authority there. In East China, the late Ko Ching-shih was considered to be an ally of Peng. One of the men in trouble in the Northeast is an old associate of Peng Chen.

The Southwest Bureau (which is in good shape) is an old stronghold of Teng, who was party boss there in the early 1950s. The current party boss in the Southwest, Li Ching-chuan, is a longtime Teng associate. The first secretary in the Northwest is a Teng appointee, who evidently has been successful in keeping Peng Chen men out of his area.

Tao Chu, head of the Central-South bureau, is the only regional leader who seems to have built his own power base. There had been some doubt about Tao's status, as he failed to show up between 4 April and 2 June, but he was one of the top party leaders to greet Chou En-lai at Peking on his return from abroad on 1 July.

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#### IV. Possible Shakeup of the Military

An unusual number of key military men are out of public view (See Annex D), and there is considerable press criticism of political problems in the armed forces, but in the absence of hard information it is difficult to say how deeply the military has become embroiled in the political turmoil. Certainly, however, party leaders struggling for power would keep the vital factor of the army in mind.

Press criticism of the military is couched in terms of longstanding complaints against "professional military men" who resent party control and question Mao's dictum that men are more important than weapons. Peking hints that there are still key officers who secretly support Peng Te-huai, the defense minister purged in 1959, among other things, for objecting to Mao's decision to challenge Khrushchev and jeopardize the flow of Soviet military aid.

There may well be a body of "professionals" under attack, but if so it is difficult to equate them to the men whose status is now in question. Most spent their careers enforcing party primacy over the military. Some were put in their jobs in the aftermath of the Peng Te-huai purge. The air force chief is a former commissar.

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Top military men in China are not as obliged as political leaders to make frequent public appearances, but even so this wholesale failure to show up for three months or more is remarkable. Considering the background of the men concerned, the removal of almost any should be construed as evidence that he had been a casualty of a power play, not a purge of disloyal officers.

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## ANNEX A: LEADERS WHO HAVE NOT APPEARED IN PUBLIC SINCE APRIL

A list of 25 leaders whose status was in question was published in DD/I Intelligence Memorandum, 17 June 1966 "The Leadership Upheaval in Communist China". Only one of those men, Shantung's first party secretary, has reappeared since then. The 42 names below represent an expansion from the original list to include additional figures whose political status has come into question. Roughly 60 men of equal stature in the power structure apparently remain in good standing.

Name and Last  
Appearance as  
of 30 June

Positions

Comment

Party and Security  
Officials

Peng Chen  
29 Mar 66

Politburo and secretariat member, one of Mao's inner circle of advisers; former 1st secretary and mayor of Peking.

First important target and victim of current power struggle.

Lo Jui-ching  
27 Nov 65

Army chief of staff; chief of secret police.

A Mao protege. As one of few Chinese leaders to hold a considerable power position with a large degree of independence from General Secretary Teng, he would be, like Peng, a natural rival with Teng for the succession. He is rumored in Peking diplomatic circles to have been ousted about late March.

Lu Ting-i  
Mar 66

Director, party propaganda department; alternate politburo member and secretariat member.

Close to Mao. Has not been seen in Peking since 28 February; noted at undated appearances in provinces in March.

Yang Shang-kun  
29 Nov 65

Mao's personal aide and party secretariat alternate member.

Has served directly under Peng Te-huai, Chu Te, and Mao, as well as Teng; had some connection with anti-Mao "28 Bolsheviks" in 1930s, but has worked as Mao's personal link with the secretariat since 1956.

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<u>Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June</u>	<u>Positions</u>	<u>Comment</u>
An Tzu-wen 25 Mar 66	Director, party organization department (dealing with personnel)	Possibly Peng man.
Chou Yang 3 Jan 66	Deputy Director, party propaganda department	Part of Mao's brain trust since 1937, has held his present job since 1955, has been a chief spokesman for Mao's policies in the field of culture. Attacked on 30 June as conspiring to "reverse history" by backing the "black thread" in art and literature.
Yao I-lin 12 Mar 66	Director, CCP-CC Finance & Trade Political Work Department; Deputy Director, Finance & Trade Staff Office; Minister of Commerce	With a long record in trade and finance administration, Yao's chief associations seem to be with Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen (1936); Nieh Jung-chen (1946); and Li Hsien-nien (since early 1950s).
Hu Yao-pang 20 Apr 66	1st Secretary, Young Communist League	Listed as a possible protege of Teng Hsiao-ping, Hu may have been brought in to head party's youth work by Liu Shao-chi. Hu has been indirectly criticized for failures of YCL and spent most of 1965 in Shensi Province as 1st Secretary while YCL was cleaned up.
Tseng Shan 23 Mar 66	Minister, Internal Affairs	Gained Mao's favor by opposing Chen Shao-yu in 1931-34 factional disputes; associated with Chen Yi during and after Japanese war; one of key Shanghai party officials, 1949-54; ineffective as commerce minister, 1954-56, and dismissed; got internal affairs post (checking on government agencies and officials) in 1960

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Name and Last  
Appearance as  
of 30 June

Positions

Comment

Chang Chi-chun  
25 Mar 66

Director of Culture  
and Education Staff  
Office, overseeing  
four ministries;  
Deputy Director, party  
Propaganda Department

Probably a Teng man.

Fang I  
7 Mar 66

Chairman, Commission  
for Economic Relations  
with Foreign Coun-  
tries; Deputy Direc-  
tor, Foreign Affairs  
Staff Office; Vice  
Chairman, State Plan-  
ning Commission

China's top representative  
in North Vietnam in late  
1950s; he worked in Shanghai  
with Tseng Shan in regime's  
early years.

Tao Lu-chia  
24 Apr 66

Vice Chairman, State  
Economic Commission

Transferred to central job  
from posts as 1st Secretary  
of Shansi and Secretary of  
North China Bureau in April  
1965. Possibly, a Teng  
protege.

Military Men

Hsiao Hua  
27 Mar 66

Head of army's  
General Political  
Department; Deputy  
Secretary General,  
MAC

Has served as political com-  
missar under Lin Piao and  
Yang Yung. Has not acted  
against "black" cultural  
activities in the GPD.

Nieh Jung-chen  
1 Oct 65

Runs advanced weapons  
program, as Chairman,  
S&TC, MAC Vice Chair-  
man

Closely allied with Chou En-  
lai throughout his career.

Hsiao Ching-kuang  
23 Feb 66

Navy commander; Vice  
Minister National  
Defense

Served under Lin Piao in  
late 1940s; went to school  
with Liu Shao-chi and prob-  
ably Mao; studied in Moscow  
for several years.

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<u>Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June</u>	<u>Positions</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Yang Yung 8 Feb 66	Commander, Peking Military Region	Listed as possibly a Teng man. Has served primarily (1939-52) under Liu Po-cheng and his political commissar Teng; has also served under Peng Te-huai, Lin Piao, and Hsu Hsiang-chien. As Peking commander, he presumably worked closely with Peng Chen. <u>Liberation Army Journal</u> 20 April article makes odd point that military units near the center (Peking) can have special political problems.
Wu Fa-hsien 22 Mar 66	Air Force Commander	Political commissar of air force 1957-65; Deputy PC 1954-57; before that a political commissar in Kwangsi Military District. The Air Force was attacked by <u>Liberation Army Journal</u> on 20 May for its ideological problems.
Yang Cheng-wu 22 Mar 66	Deputy Chief of Staff	Deputy to Nieh Jung-chen, early 1950s; succeeded Nieh as Peking Military Region Commander (1954-1959), and as such associated with Peng Chen; removed from this crucial post in aftermath of Peng Te-huai purge of 1959.
Wang Shu-sheng 20 Jan 66	Vice Minister of National Defense	Activities have been primarily military, avoiding involvement in political shakeups.
Hsu Shih-yu 20 Apr 66	Vice Minister, National Defense; Commander, Nanking Military Region	Appointed to Ministry in September 1959 in wake of Peng Te-huai ouster; once bucked Mao (1937), later served under Chen Yi.

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<u>Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June</u>	<u>Positions</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Liao Han-sheng Mar 66	Vice Minister, National Defense	Probably a Peng Te-huai protege.
Chang Ai-ping 27 Mar 66	Deputy Chief of Staff	A Long March veteran, long experienced in both political commissar and command struc- ture, served in East China 1949-55.
Liang Pi-yeh 14 Feb 66	Deputy Director, General Political Department, PLA	A political commissar in Central-South China until 1962.
Chen Hsi-lien 27 Dec 65	Commander, Mukden Military Region; Secretary, Northeast Bureau	Has commanded Mukden MR since 1959; almost solely military, not political.
Huang Yung-sheng 9 Nov 65	Commander, Canton Military Region; Secretary, Central- South Bureau	A Long Marcher, Huang has served most closely with Lin Piao.
Yang Te-chih Jan 66	Commander, Tsinan Military Region	A veteran Long Marcher, has served under Mao, Chu Te, Lin Piao, and Peng Te-huai; listed as first alternate Central Committee member, has never- theless been primarily in mili- tary roles.
Chang Ta-chih 22 Jan 66	Commander, Lanchow Military Region; Secretary, Northwest Bureau	Entire career in Northwest in military and public security affairs; once served under Peng Te-huai.
<u>Provincial Leaders</u>		
Chen Pei-hsien 14 Feb 66	1st Secretary, Shanghai	Named to succeed the late Ko Ching-shih, who was pos- sibly a Peng man, in November 1965. Has not acted against "black" cultural activities.

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Name and Last  
Appearance as  
of 30 June

Positions

Comment

Li Pao-hua  
Apr 66

1st Secretary,  
Anhwei

Possibly Peng. Has not acted against "black" cultural activities.

Yang Shang-kuei  
17 Nov 65

1st Secretary  
Kiangsi; Political  
Commissar, Kiangsi  
Military District;  
Secretary, East  
China Bureau

Long overshadowed by the now-deceased Governor Shao Shih-ping, Yang has been top local party man since 1953. Not a Central Committee member. Party committee and people's council have acted against "black" cultural activities, but Yang has not been mentioned.

Yeh Fei  
10 Mar 66

1st Secretary,  
Fukien; Political  
Commissar and possibly still Military  
Commander, Foochow  
Military Region;  
Secretary, East China  
Bureau

Chief party and military official in Fukien, has served primarily under Chen Yi and Su Yu. No "black" cultural activities exposed yet in Fukien.

Wei Kuo-ching  
22 Mar 66

1st Secretary & Governor, Kwangsi;  
Political Commissar,  
Kwangsi Military  
District

With his triple post, Wei is party's top man in Kwangsi and second-ranking minority man in party (he is Chuang, China's most numerous minority.) Hanoi radio says he appeared in June.

Chia Chi-yun  
5 Apr 66

1st Secretary  
Kweichow

Chia, best-known as incompetent head of State Statistical Bureau during Leap Forward, was made head of Kweichow party in summer (Jul or Aug) 1965. Not a Central Committee member. Province has acted against some of the reported "black" cultural activities.

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<u>Name and Last Appearance as of 30 June</u>	<u>Positions</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Chang Kuo-hua Jan 66	1st Secretary, Tibet; Commander, Tibet Military Region	Took top party post when Tibet Autonomous Region was formally established in September 1965; has led Chinese troops there since Tibetan rebellion. Not a Central Committee member. No "black" cultural activi- ties exposed in Tibet.
Liu Jen 26 Mar 66	Former 2nd Secretary, Peking	Peng man (entire career). Replaced by Wu Te, 3 June 66.
Lin Tieh 24 Mar 66	1st Secretary, Hopeh; Political Commissar, Hopeh Military Dis- trict; 3rd Secretary, North China Bureau	Not represented as acting against "black" cultural activities.
Wei Heng 1 Feb 66	1st Secretary, Shansi	Promoted to top Shansi party post in July 1965 when Tao Lu-chia moved to central government job; had been Governor; has spent entire career in Shansi. No "black" cultural activities exposed yet in Shansi.
Ma Ming-fang Mar 66	3rd Secretary, Northeast Bureau	A schoolmate of Kao Kang and Hsi Chung-hsun, he also served under Teng and was probably moved into NE Bureau to help weed out Kao sup- porters.
Huang Huo-ching 2 Sept 65	1st Secretary, Liao- ning; Political Commissar, Liaoning Military District; Secretary, Northeast Bureau	Moved into Liaoning in 1958 over former 1st Secretary Huang Ou-tung's head to take charge of rectification and purge of "anti-party faction- alists." Probably has not acted against "black" cultural activities.
Huang Ou-tung 6 Mar 66	Governor, Liaoning	Possibly Peng man.

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Name and Last  
Appearance as  
of 30 June

Positions

Comment

Ou-yang Chin  
10 Feb 66

1st Secretary,  
Heilungkiang; Polit-  
ical Commissar,  
Heilungkiang Military  
District; 2nd Secre-  
tary, Northeast Bureau

Possibly Peng Man. Replaced  
by Pan Fu-sheng, May 66.

Wang Feng  
25 Feb 66

1st Secretary,  
Kansu; Secretary,  
Northwest Bureau

Also served with Ulanfu and  
Li Wei-han; active in united  
front work and minority af-  
fairs. No "black" cultural  
activities exposed yet in  
Kansu.

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ANNEX B: "Black" Anti-Party Cultural Activities Publicized in Communist China 1 May-30 June 1966

<u>Locality</u> <u>Central</u> <u>Committee</u>	<u>Ostensible</u> <u>Culprits</u>	<u>Party Leader</u> <u>and Last</u> <u>Appearance</u>	<u>Leader Re-</u> <u>presented</u> <u>As Clean-</u> <u>ing Up</u>	<u>Comment</u>
CC Propa- ganda Dept.	Unnamed deputy director	Lu Ting-i Mar 66	No	The attacks are aimed at a deputy director who approved "black" literary works. Chou Yang is the deputy director who has been party spokesman on literature. He last appeared 3 Jan 66.
General Polit- ical Dept. of the Army.	Deputy director of cultural dept.	Hsiao Hua 27 Mar 66	No	Hsiao Hua last appeared in company with Peng Chen.
<u>North China Bureau</u>				
Peking	A party secretary; party dept. director; a vice-mayor	Peng Chen 29 Mar 66	No	Peng Chen's removal and the reorganization of the Peking party committee were announced on 3 June 66.
Hopesh	A university professor	Lin Tieh 24 Mar 66	No	Lin is a possible Peng Chen man.
Inner Mon- golia	No "black" cultural activities reported	Wu Lan-fu 11 May 66		
Shansi	No "black" cultural activities reported	Wei Heng 1 Feb 66		

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<u>Locality Central Committee</u>	<u>Ostensible Culprits</u>	<u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u>	<u>Leader Re- presented As Clean- ing Up</u>	<u>Comment</u>
<u>East China Bureau</u>				
Shanghai	A deputy direc- tor of a municip- al bureau; cultural figures	Chen Pei-hsien 14 Feb 66	No	The attacks imply that higher fig- ures are involved and the press has been repre- senting Tsao Ti- chui as ranking secretary in Shanghai.
Anhwei	A university professor	Li Pao-hua Apr 66	No	Li is a possible Peng Chen man.
Chekiang	Chekiang Univ. party deputy secretary, concurrently university presi- dent	Chiang Hua 26 Jun 66	Yes	Culprit dismis- sed.
Fukien	No "black" cul- tural activities reported	Yeh Fei 10 Mar 66		
Kiangsi	Director of the provincial educa- tion and culture bureau; deputy director of the provincial educa- tion dept., con- currently Kiangsi Univ. vice-presi- dent	Yang Shang-kuei 17 Nov 65	Yes	Culprits dismis- sed by the pro- vincial party committee and people's council. If Yang fails to show up soon, this could indi- cate he has been replaced.
Kiangsu	Nanking Univ. party secretary, concurrently university presi- dent; deputy direc- tor of party propa- ganda dept.	Chiang Wei-ching 1 May 66	Yes and No	The ostensible culprits were attacked on 12 and 13 June, respectively. The 12 June at- tack reported that the Nanking Univ. party sec- retary had been

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<u>Locality Central Committee</u>	<u>Ostensible Culprits</u>	<u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u>	<u>Leader Re- presented As Clean- ing Up</u>	<u>Comment</u>
				dismissed. The propaganda dept. official has not been dismissed.
Shantung	Vice-governor, concurrently director of the party propaganda dept; a college party secretary; vice-president of Shantung Teachers College	Tan Chi-lung 11 Jun 66	Yes and No	The Shantung Teachers College party secretary and vice-president have been dismissed. The initial attack upon them on 20 June reported that they had lost their posts. The vice-governor, under attack since 28 May, has not been reported dismissed. Tan was out of sight 29 Mar-11 Jun. He reappeared just before action against the college figures was announced, an indication that his position is secure.
<u>Central South Bureau</u>				
Honan	No "black" cultural activities reported	Liu Chien-hsun May 66		
Hunan	Party committee secretary of provincial cadres school	Chang Ping-hua 2 Jun 66	Yes	Culprits dismissed.

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<u>Locality Central Committee</u>	<u>Ostensible Culprits</u>	<u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u>	<u>Leader Re- presented As Clean- ing Up</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Hupei	Wuhan Univ. party secretary; Wuhan Univ. president	Wang Jen-chung Jun 66	Yes	Wuhan Univ. party secretary ordered to under- go "self-examina- tion"; univ. president dismis- sed; party commit- tee team appoint- ed to clean up Wuhan Univ.
Kwangsi	A deputy direc- tor of party propaganda dept.	Wei Kuo-ching 22 Mar 66	No	According to Hanoi radio on 23 June, Wei Kuo-ching greeted Le Duc Tho in Nanning.
Kwangtung	A former deputy editor of the <u>Yang-cheng Wan- Pao</u> ; a middle school party secretary	Chao Tzu-yang Jun 66	Yes	The middle school party secretary has been dismissed. The deputy editor is identified as "former."
<u>Southwest Bureau</u>				
Kweichow	Standing member of provincial party committee, concurrently director of party propaganda dept., and chief editor of <u>Kweichow Daily</u> ; party secretary of Kweiyang Teachers College; party secretary of middle school	Chia Chi-yun 5 Apr 66	Yes and No	The college party secretary and middle school party secretary have been dismis- sed. The pro- vincial party committee figure, attacked on 5 June, has not been reported dismissed.

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<u>Locality Central Committee</u>	<u>Ostensible Culprits</u>	<u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u>	<u>Leader Re- presented As Clean- ing Up</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Szechwan	Chengtu Evening News editors; Chengtu Univ. party deputy secretary	Li Ching-chuan (SW Bureau) 1 May 66 Liao Chih-kao (Szechwan) 1 May 66	Yes  Yes	The culprits, one of whom was identified as a "former" SW Bureau official, have been dismis- sed. The munici- pal party commit- tee was reported to have acted with the approval of the provincial committee and the SW Bureau.
Tibet	No "black" cul- tural activities reported	Chang Kuo-hua Jan 66		
Yunnan	Yunnan Daily chief editor; a college party secretary	Yen Hung-yen 1 May 66	Yes	Culprits dismis- sed.
<u>Northeast Bureau</u>				
Heilungkiang	Harbin Evening News chief editor; dramatists	Pan Fu-sheng 5 May 66	Yes	Editor dismissed. Pan replaced Ou- Yang Chin about Mar 66.
Kirin	No "black" cul- tural activities reported	Unknown		Wu Te, 1st secre- tary of Kirin, was named 2nd secretary of the Peking party com- mittee on 3 Jun, replacing Liu Jen.

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<u>Locality Central Committee</u>	<u>Ostensible Culprits</u>	<u>Party Leader and Last Appearance</u>	<u>Leader Re- presented As Clean- ing Up</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Liaoning	A secretary of the provincial party committee; deputy director of the provincial cultural bureau	Huang Huo-ching 2 Sept 65	Yes and No	The party committee secretary was described on 26 June as "former" secretary but the party committee itself is not reported to have acted. The provincial government figure, attacked on 15 Jun, has not been reported dismissed.
<u>Northwest Bureau</u>				
Kansu	No "black" cultural activities reported	Wang Feng 25 Feb 66		
Ninghsia	No "black" cultural activities reported	Yang Ching-jen May 66		
Shensi	Sian Communications Univ. party secretary, concurrently univ. president	Huo Shih-lien 22 May 66	Yes	Culprit dismissed.
Sinkiang	A literary journal editor	Wang En-mao 28 May 66	Un-clear	Wang gave speech denouncing culprit but did not say that he had been dismissed.
Tsinghai	<u>Tsinghai Daily</u> chief editor	Yang Chih-lin May 66	Yes	Culprit dismissed.

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ANNEX C: STATUS OF KEY MEN IN THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY MACHINERY

Key: ? = May be in trouble.

(I) = Were inactive or relatively unimportant prior to present party crisis.

I. POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Members:

	Mao Tse-tung	Chairman, CCP-CC
	Liu Shao-chi	Vice Chairman, CCP-CC; chief of state
	Chou En-lai*	Vice Chairman, CCP-CC; Premier
(I)	Chu Te	Vice Chairman, CCP-CC
(I)	Chen Yun	Vice Chairman, CCP-CC
	Lin Piao	Vice Chairman, CCP-CC; Minister of National Defense
	Teng Hsiao-ping	General Secretary, Central Committee
(I)	Tung Pi-wu	
?	Peng Chen	
	Chen Yi*	Foreign Minister
	Li Fu-chun*	Economic planner
(I)	Peng Te-huai	
(I)	Liu Po-cheng	
(I)	Ho Lung	
	Li Hsien-nien*	Finance Minister
	Li Ching-chuan	First Secretary, Southwest Bureau
	Tan Chen-lin*	Agricultural specialist

Alternate Members:

(I) Ulanfu  
(I) Chang Wen-tien  
? Lu Ting-i  
(I) Chen Po-ta

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\* = Have been involved for most of last decade primarily in government administration, not party work.

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Higher Party School

President:

Lin Feng

Young Communist League

1st Secretary:

? Hu Yao-pang

IV. MAJOR REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEADERS

North China Bureau

1st Secretary: Li Hsueh-feng  
2nd Secretary: Ulanfu  
3rd Secretary: ? Lin Tieh  
Secretaries : ? Li Li-san  
Liu Tzu-hou  
? Liao Han-sheng

Peking

Former 1st Secretary and Mayor: ? Peng Chen  
1st Secretary: Li Hsueh-feng  
Former 2nd Secretary: ? Liu Jen  
2nd Secretary: Wu Te

Hopeh

1st Secretary: ? Lin Tieh  
Governor: Liu Tzu-hou

Shansi

1st Secretary: ? Wei Heng

Inner Mongolia

1st Secretary and Governor: Ulanfu

Northeast Bureau

1st Secretary: Sung Jen-chiung  
2nd Secretary: ? Ou-yang Chin  
3rd Secretary: ? Ma Ming-fang  
Secretaries : ? Huang Huo-ching  
? Huang Ou-tung  
? Chen Hsi-lien

Liaoning

1st Secretary: ? Huang Huo-ching  
Governor: ? Huang Ou-tung

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Kirin

1st Secretary: Unknown

Heilungkiang

Former 1st Secretary: ? Ou-yang Chin (replaced about March)  
1st Secretary: Pan Fu-sheng  
Governor: Li Fan-wu

Northwest Bureau

1st Secretary: Liu Lan-tao  
Secretaries: Kao Ko-lin  
? Chang Ta-chih  
Wang En-mao  
? Wang Feng  
Yang Chih-lin  
Yang Ching-jen  
Huo Shih-lien

Shensi

1st Secretary: Huo Shih-lien

Ningsia

1st Secretary: Yang Ching-jen

Kansu

1st Secretary: ? Wang Feng

Tsinghai

1st Secretary: Yang Chih-lin

Sinkiang

1st Secretary: Wang En-mao  
Governor: ? Saifudin

East China Bureau

1st Secretary: Unknown  
2nd Secretary: Unknown  
3rd Secretary: ? Li Pao-hua  
Secretaries: ? Chen Pei-hsien  
? Yeh Fei  
? Yang Shang-kuei  
Chiang Hua  
Tan Chi-lung  
Wei Wen-po

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Shanghai

1st Secretary: ? Chen Pei-hsien  
Mayor: Tsao Ti-chiu

Shantung

1st Secretary: Tan Chi-lung

Kiangsu

1st Secretary: Chiang Wei-ching

Anhwei

1st Secretary: ? Li Pao-hua

Chekiang

1st Secretary: Chiang Hua

Kiangsi

1st Secretary: ? Yang Shang-kuei

Fukien

1st Secretary: ? Yeh Fei

Central-South Bureau

1st Secretary: Tao Chu  
2nd Secretary: Wang Jen-chung  
3rd Secretary: Chen Yu  
Secretaries: ? Wu Chih-pu  
                  ? Huang Yung-sheng  
                  Wang Shou-tao  
                  Chao Tzu-yang  
                  Liu Chien-hsun

Honan

1st Secretary: Liu Chien-hsun

Hupei

1st Secretary: Wang Jen-chung

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Hunan

1st Secretary: Chang Ping-hua

Kwangtung

1st Secretary: Chao Tzu-yang  
Governor: Chen Yu

Kwangsi

1st Secretary and Governor: ? Wei Kuo-ching

Southwest Bureau

1st Secretary: Li Ching-chuan  
Secretaries: Li Ta-chang  
Liao Chih-kao  
? Cheng Tzu-hua  
Chang Ching-wu

Szechwan

1st Secretary: Liao Chih-kao  
Governor: Li Ta-chang

Kweichow

1st Secretary: ? Chia Chi-yun

Yunnan

1st Secretary: Yeng Hung-yen  
Governor: Chou Hsing

Tibet

1st Secretary: ? Chang Kuo-hua

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ANNEX D: STATUS OF KEY MILITARY OFFICIALS

Key: ? = May be in trouble.  
(I) = Were inactive or relatively unimportant prior to present party crisis.

I. MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung  
Vice Chairman: Lin Piao  
(I) Ho Lung  
? Nieh Jung-chen  
Secy. Genl.: ? Lo Jui-ching  
Dep. Secy. Genl.: ? Hsiao Hua  
Other Members, Standing Committee: Hsu Hsiang-chien  
(I) Liu Po-cheng  
Yeh Chien-ying

II. PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT  
(Directly subordinate to Central Committee)

Director: ? Hsiao Hua  
Deputy Directors: ? Fu Chung  
Liu Chih-chien  
? Liang Pi-yeh  
Hsu Li-ching

III. PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT

Chief of Staff: ? Lo Jui-ching  
Deputy Chiefs of Staff: Chang Tsung-hsun  
? Chang Ai-ping  
Peng Shao-hui  
? Yang Cheng-wu  
? Yang Yung  
Li Tien-yu  
Wang Hsin-ting  
? Han Hsien-chu

IV. MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Minister: Lin Piao

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Vice Ministers:     ?   Hsiao Ching-kuang  
                       ?   Liao Han-sheng  
                       ?   Wang Shu-sheng  
                       (I) Su Yu  
                           Hsu Kuang-ta  
                       ?   Hsu Shih-yu  
                       ?   Lo Jui-ching

# V. MAJOR SERVICE ARMS AND PEKING MILITARY REGION

## Air Force

Commander:                 ?   Wu Fa-hsien  
 Political Commissar:     ?   Yu Li-chin

## Armored Force

Commander:                                 Hsu Kuang-ta

## Naval Headquarters

Commander:                 ?   Hsiao Ching-kuang  
 Political Commissar:     ?   Su Chen-hua

## Public Security Force

Commander:                                 Hsieh Fu-chih  
 Political Commissar:                     Hsieh Fu-chih

# VI. MILITARY REGIONS

## Peking MR (Peking, Hopeh, Shansi)

Commander:                 ?   Yang Yung  
 Political Commissar:                     Unknown

## Mukden MR (Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang)

Commander:                 ?   Chen Hsi-lien  
 Political Commissar:                     Sung Jen-chiung

## Tsinan MR (Shantung)

Commander:                 ?   Yang Te-chih  
 Political Commissar:                     Tan Chi-lung

## Nanking MR (Shanghai, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei)

Commander:                 ?   Hsu Shih-yu  
 Political Commissar:                     Chiang Hua

## Foochow MR (Fukien, Kiangsi)

Commander:                 ?   Yeh Fei  
 Political Commissar:                     ?   Yeh Fei

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Wu-han MR (Hupeh, Honan)

Commander: (I) Chen Tsai-tao  
Political Commissar: Wang Jen-chung

Canton MR (Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hunan)

Commander: ? Huang Yung-sheng  
Political Commissar: Tao Chu

Kunming MR (Yunnan, Kweichow)

Commander: Chin Chi-wei  
Political Commissar: Yen Hung-yen

Chengtu MR (Szechwan)

Commander: ? Huang Hsin-ting  
Political Commissar: Li Ching-chuan

Tibet MR

Commander: ? Chang Kuo-hua  
Political Commissar: ? Tan Kuan-lan

Sinkiang MR

Commander: Wang En-mao  
Political Commissar: Wang En-mao

Lanchow MR (Shensi, Ningsia, Kansu, Tsinghai)

Commander: ? Chang Ta-chih  
Political Commissar: ? Hsien Heng-han

Inner Mongolia MR

Commander: Ulanfu  
Political Commissar: Ulanfu

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